

Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /031 W

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P R 301705Z SEP 74

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4364

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LONDON 12737

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, CY, UK

SUBJECT: PELAGHIAS REPORTS MAKARIOS'S VIEWS

SUMMARY: PELAGHIAS STATED MAKARIOS' PREFERENCE FOR CANTONAL SOLUTION AS PROPOSED BY TURKS AT GENEVA, BUT DID NOT RULE OUT EVENTUAL ACCEPTANCE OF BI-ZONAL SETTLEMENT WITH STRONG CENTRAL GOVT AND SPECIFIC INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEE. HE ATTACKED CLERIDES WHILE ASSURING US THAT MAKARIOS WOULD DO NOTHING TO UPSET CLERIDES' NEGOTIATIONS. HE CONFIRMED MAKARIOS' INTENTION TO RETURN TO CYPRUS "BY NOVEMBER" AND PRAISED MAVROS' FORTHRIGHT STATEMENT AGAINST "ENOSIS" AS MAKING IT POSSIBLE FOR ARCHBISHOP TO ACCEPT NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT WHICH WOULD RULE OUT "ENOSIS". COMMENT: IT WOULD APPEAR THAT MAKARIOS' SUPPORTERS ARE CONTINUING DRIVE TO REDUCE CLERIDES' ROLE TO THAT OF SUBORDINATE AGENT. QUESTION REMAINS WHETHER TURKS WOULD CONCLUDE AGREEMENT WITH CLERIDES TO WHICH NEITHER MAKARIOS NOR GOG GAVE EXPLICIT CONCURRENCE. END SUMMARY.

1. AMB GEORGE PELAGHIAS, WHO MODESTLY DESCRIBES HIMSELF AS MAKARIOS' CLOSEST CONFIDANT, VISITED US AT HIS OWN REQUEST FRIDAY SEPT 27. HE WAS LEAVING FOR
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ATHENS NEXT DAY TO SEE HIS FAMILY AND WILL ARRIVE IN

NICOSIA BY SHIP OCT 10 TO TAKE UP JOB OF PUS IN FON-MINISTRY. HE GAVE US FOLLOWING VIEWS AS INDICATIVE OF DIRECTION MAKARIOS' THINKING.

2. HE BAGAN BY EXPRESSING PREFERENCE FOR (MULTIPLE) CANTONAL RATHER THAN BI-ZONAL DIVISION OF CYPRUS WITH STRONG CENTRAL GOVT. HE EXPRESSED FEAR THAT BI-ZONAL FEDERATIVE SOLUTION WOULD LEAD IN LONG-RUN TO SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT OF TWO ZONES AND THEN EITHER TO PARTITION AND UNION OF TURKISH SECTOR WITH TURKEY OR TO TURKEY'S USE OF TURKISH SECTOR AS BASE FROM WHICH TO CONQUER ENTIRE ISLAND. HE THOUGHT TURKS WOULD PREFER TO CONQUER ENTIRE ISLAND RATHER THAN ALLOW GREECE TO GET FOOTHOLD (AND AIRBASES) OFF TURKEY'S SOUTHERN COAST. PELAGHIAS SPECIFICALLY ATTRIBUTED THESE POSITIONS TO MAKARIOS.

3. ON FURTHER DISCUSSION, HOWEVER, PELAGHIAS ADMITTED THIS WAS ONLY MAKARIOS' PREFERRED NEGOTIATING POSITION, BASED ON TURKISH PROPOSALS FOR CANTONAL SOLUTION (WITH OVERALL CENTER AT KYRENIA) MADE AT GENEVA. MAKARIOS WOULD CONSIDER BI-ZONAL ARRANGEMENT TOO, PROVIDED CENTRAL GOVT WAS STRONG, AND THERE WAS SPECIFIC INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEE OF THIS ARRANGEMENT TO WHICH TURKEY WAS SIGNATORY.

4. KIND OF FEDERAL GOVT HE HAD IN MIND, PELAGHIAS SAID, WOULD BE BASED ON TURKISH PROPOSALS DURING INTER-COMMUNAL TALKS (WHICH HE SAID HAD BEEN ON POINT OF COMPROMISE AGREEMENT WHEN COUP OCCURRED) -- OR THEY COULD BE BASED ON NEW PROPOSALS. SUCH NEW NEGOTIATIONS WOULD NOT SUFFER DELAYS ATTENDING INTER-COMMUNAL TALKS BECAUSE "SITUATION IS DIFFERENT NOW", I.E., TURKISH ARMY IS IN POSSESSION OF CYPRIOT TERRITORY. (IN THAT CONNECTION HE NOTED REPORT HE HAD JUST RECEIVED THAT TURKS HAVE BEGUN CONSTRUCTING LINE OF DEFENSIVE FORTIFICATIONS NEAR KORMAKITI, NORTH OF MORPHOU. HE THOUGHT THIS LIKELY TO BE START OF "CHINESE WALL" OF FORTIFICATIONS ALL THE WAY TO FAMAGUSTA ALONG NORTHERN NICOSIA-FAMAGUSTA ROAD, PERMITTING RETURN OF REST OF TURKISH HOLDINGS BUT SOLIDIFYING

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RETENTION OF BASIC TURKISH TERRITORIAL CLAIM).

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LONDON 12737

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5. WHEN WE NOTED MAKARIOS' POSITION SEEMED TO UNDERCUT CLERIDES' NEGOTIATIONS, PELAGHIAS ARGUED TWO SEPARATE TRACKS. FIRST WAS HIS OWN VIEW THAT MAKARIOS HAD BEEN WRONG TO APPOINT POLITICIAN LIKE CLERIDES AS NEGOTIATOR IN FIRST PLACE. THERE IS NOTHING SPECIAL IN VAUNTED CLERIDES PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH DENKTASH. CLERIDES IS CONSTANTLY LOOKING AHEAD TO OWN POLITICAL FUTURE AND IS AFRAID TO TAKE PERSONAL POSITION ON ANY AGREEMENT HE MAY REACH WITH DENKTASH. HE HAS IN PAST REFERRED DECISION BACK TO GOC WITHOUT SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATION IT BE ACCEPTED. CLERIDES SHOULD BE REPLACED BY DIPLOMAT OR PROFESSIONAL MAN. (COMMENT: WE GOT CLEAR IMPRESSION PELAGHIAS WAS NOT ELIMINATING HIMSELF FROM CANDADACY).

6. ALONG OTHER TRACK, PELAGHIAS SAID MAKARIOS SUPPORTS CLERIDES' NEGOTIATIONS, HE HAS SPECIFICALLY SEEN TO IT THAT KYPRIANOU IN UN TAKES HIS POLICY LINE FROM CLERIDES THROUGH CHRISTOPHIDES. (COMMENT: A BIT DISINGENUOUS, SINCE CHRISTOPHIDES IS CLEARLY MAKARIOS' MAN). MAKARIOS WILL DO NOTHING TO INTERFERE WITH CLERIDES' NEGOTIATIONS.
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HOWEVER, CYPRIOT PEOPLE WILL NOT ACCEPT CLERIDES'

JUDGEMENT ALONE FOR A SETTLEMENT. EVEN DENKTASH KNOWS THIS. CYPRIOT PEOPLE WILL WANT ARCHBISHOP'S JUDGEMENT TOO. AS ARCHBISHOP TOLD CALLAGHAN, (PELAGHIAS SAID) MAKARIOS MIGHT TAKE ANY OF THREE COURSES TOWARD A SETTLEMENT NEGOTIATED BY CLERIDES: TO ACCEPT IT, TO TOLERATE IT, OR TO REJECT IT. HE WOULD DECIDE AT THE TIME.

7. IN SPITE OF OUR URGING THAT MAKARIOS STAY AWARE OF PROBLEMS INVOLVED IF HE RETURNED TOO SOON, PELAGHIAS CONFIRMED MAKARIOS IS THINKING OF RETURNING TO CYPRUS "BY NOVEMBER", SHOULD THERE BE INSUFFICIENT PROGRESS IN CLERIDES' TALKS BY THEN.

8. PELAGHIAS PRAISED MAVROS' RECENT STATEMENT THAT "ENOSIS" IS NOT POSSIBLE. HE SAW THIS AS POSITIVE CHANGE IN THE ATTITUDE OF ALL GOVTS OF GREECE SINCE

1760, POINTING OUT THAT PAPANDREOU GOVT HAD PLOTTED "ENOSIS" BY MEANS OF A COUP EVEN BEFORE THE JUNTA. WITH GOG BREATHING DOWN MAKARIOS' NECK IN THIS FASHION, MAKARIOS HAD ALWAYS BEEN AFRAID TO ACCEPT INTER-COMMUNAL AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD RULE OUT ENOSIS.

9. COMMENT: HOW MUCH OF THE ABOVE IS PELAGHIAS AND HOW MUCH MAKARIOS ALWAYS DIFFICULT TO FATHOM. HOWEVER, THIS WAS ONE OF THE CLEAREST EXPOSITIONS WE HAVE RECEIVED OF DRIVE BY MAKARIOS' FOLLOWERS TO REESTABLISH CLERIDES AS A SUBORDINATE AGENT, AND ONE WHO IS BY NO MEANS IRREPLACEABLE. WITH INCREASING URGENCY IT POSES BASIC QUESTION WHETHER EVEN TURKS WOULD BE WILLING NEGOTIATE DEFINITIVE SETTLEMENT WITH CLERIDES IN ABSENCE OF MAKARIOS' EXPLICIT CONCURRENCE (AND/OR ACTIVE BACKING OF GOVT OF GREECE). ANNENBERG

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